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ABSTRACT

The investigation examined 2 issues: (1) how the values of the subculture influence the underachievement of the Mexican American boy and (2) what happens to him if he is placed into a new educational strategy. The overall purpose of the research was to ascertain promising instructional procedures for underachieving (as measured by standardized achievement tests) Mexican American boys in grades 4-6. Hypothesizing that differences exist in qualitative characteristics of self-image in relation to ethnic classifications and in reading level achievement, and that reading achievement of culturally different children is directly related to differences in teaching techniques used to accomplish reading skills, 50 low-achieving and 50 achieving boys of Mexican American descent and 50 achieving boys of Anglo American heritage from 3 "disadvantaged" Los Angeles schools were studied. Findings tended to support hypothesis 1 while negating hypothesis 2. It appears that there are value conflicts between the Mexican American boy and the American school which affect his classroom achievement. His masculine orientation, strong peer-group identification, and lack of "driveness," as well as the informal classroom which is at odds with his needs for a formal educational setting, are causes of the conflicts. It is recommended that the American school reexamine and restyle its curriculum to enhance legitimacy for all socially or culturally different students. A bibliography and 13 tables are included. (MJB)

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THE AMERICAN ELEMENTARY SCHOOL VERSUS THE VALUES AND NEEDS OF MEXICAN-AMERICAN BOYS

ETHEL M. HEPNER

Lynwood Unified School District
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Lynwood, California 90262

May 1971

U.S. DEPARTMENT OF
HEALTH, EDUCATION, AND WELFARE

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* Carl Rogers, P.A. Inventory for Boys Deleted for Copyright reasons.

CHAPTER ONE

INTRODUCTION: THE EDUCATIONAL PROBLEMS

Underachievement

In recent years educators and critics of education have been increasingly concerned with the wastage of talent, and untapped abilities of the large number of students who drop out of school before graduation. When an individual does not utilize to the fullest his capacity, it is not only a loss to society, but it is also a personal frustration. Thus, underachievement becomes a matter of strategic importance to educators. It is an indication that our system is not efficient, and that we are not achieving our goals. The study of underachievement then, is a method of discovering our shortcomings and improving educational instruction.

At the same time, though the world is changing rapidly, and though man is said to be undergoing a model change, the American school appears to be suffering from a culture lag by not keeping up with or adjusting to such changes in the world and its people. More specifically, schools have been criticized for their almost obsclete value-systems, and their discrepant social class orientations from those of many urban families and children. The result has been that it is not only a minority that is underachieving in our educational systems, but public educational institutions are no longer able to give most youths the skills or satisfactions derived from learning, as they once could. Instead, school for many has become a limiting, if not frustrating place. In addition, it has also served to reinforce uncertain or negative self-images of many children.

Target of Change

The latter has lead educators and psychologists almost obsessively preoccupied with "what is wrong with the child", and how to change him, yet left them surprisingly unconcerned about the inadequacies of the school and its processes. The fundamental question to be answered seems to be: Who needs to be changed? The child, the school, or society? In most descriptions of programs it seems that the child has been the major target of change, if not the only one. Less widely recognized or admitted has been the need to change the school. Administrators have been reluctant and resistant to concede that there might be inadequacies in the nature and quality of the school experiences provided for today's pupils. Yet, as some

(Havighurst, Riessmna, Samorra) have pointed out, the prevailing pattern of school life in our country was patterned for the middle-class pupil, and is alien to the experiences and needs of lower-class or otherwise different-than-white-middle-class students.

Limited Research

However, few existing studies have questioned the ability of the school-classroom-system to be amenable to curriculum innovation which would maximize the opportunities of the underachieving children. And psychologists and sociologists have been strangely reluctant to produce prescriptions for the culturally-different. At best, they have raised questions - which have been left unanswered.

In addition, reported studies of children with learning difficulties or children from different social and ethnic backgrounds, seem to have been largely concerned with cognitive areas, and few results available concerning the affective development of children, their self-concept or their social attitudes and values. Furthermore, existing research largely consists of assessment-studies which have been restricted to measuring end-products as reflected by test-performance only. Few have involved children's perceptions, feelings, and evaluations as related to their experiences and role-identifications.

Furthermore, it needs to be noted that there has been a conspicuous lack of systematic studies of the school and its process in general, and that very little the school has done, or very little of what is done in the school has ever been validated by research. Pupils are assessed regularly, and publicly, and but school programs and procedures are generally left untouched. But now, with our ever-increasing awareness of underachievement, with our insistance on assisting those termed "culturally different" - with our talk of integration and intergroup education, such research and subsequent educational modifications are directly needed and overdue.

Value-Conflicts

Still another problem area not yet sufficiently explored concerns the following: What happens to children who come from environments which do not prepare them for the values and standards expected by the American school, because their cultures or subcultures are either different or indifferent to such value-systems as the school holds? The school keeps on insisting that these pupils (and their parents) show an "indifference" to school performance, "do not value education", or are alienated intellectually. Others (Parsons) however, maintain just the opposite to be true: that this

pretended indifference is not that at all, but instead a revolt against the school for frustrating and inhibiting them. And that such culturally or socially different children are too often exposed to contradictory pressures to which they react with ambivalence. At the same time, the personal stakes for them are much higher than for the others, because what happens to them at school may make much more of a difference for their futures than for others, who already have the status and the background necessary to compete and achieve.

Finally, there is still another basic question with which society and the educational institution have to deal: Do we need to make these children over in our own (Anglo middle-class) image, or do we want to minimize our influence upon them so that they can maintain their own cultural integrity? If so, how can we give the culturally divergent child the advantages of our system without also harming him?

Education: a Problem for Mexican-American students

The present investigation is particularly concerned with the milieu of the typical elementary classroom in terms of its possible conflicts with the values and needs of Mexican-American students and the effect that such conflicts would leave on the pupils' educational achievement or lack of achievement.

It is reported that Mexican-American children in the southwest are two years behind in reading, one and a half years behind in arithmetic, and that even with good SES - intelligence quotients are reported below those of the Anglo population, even though they cannot and should not be taken at face value. (Manuel)

The last census in Los Angeles evidenced the median school year completed for Spanish surname children to be 8.6, Anglo-Americans 12.1, and non-whites 10.5. In east Los Angeles 76% of the population was Mexican-American, but 7% had no schooling at all, and less than 9% completed less than one year of college. One-fourth of the population interviewed in East Los Angeles in 1963 had no formal education and had never attended school at all. 30% of all Mexican-American students dropped out before completion of the 12th grade. (Heller) Los Angeles City Schools conducted a survey in 1965-1966, which evidenced that the highest drop-out rates were in predominantly Mexican-American schools: Garfield High School 53.8% and Roosevelt High School 47.5%, whereas on the west side, the average drop-out rate was 2-3%. At UCLA fewer Mexican-Americans enrolled in 1967 (less than 70) than ten years before, despite the huge enrollment increase.

It appears that Samorra was right ten years ago when he accused the American school system of default - yet his protests appear to have been ignored by educators. Similarly, Carter ten years later, today is accusing the American school of neglect in relation to Mexican-American children - but educators still do not appear to listen. Perhaps the reasons for the lack of achievement of Mexican-American children are not readily admissible, or adequately understood, by teachers and administrators. Nor have researchers been of much assistence to them in comprehending these needs. Studies and papers have concentrated on either largely contradictory and ambivalent investigations of cognitive disabilities of these children, or laborious descriptions of the alleged rural-folk culture of the Mexican American, on which all negative educational outcomes of all Mexican-American children, in both rural and urban areas for the past decades have been blamed, though little empirical evidence has supported such causal relationships.

Rationalizations of Educators

Since so few investigations have involved these children's perceptions, it is not surprising to find that teachers and administrators have erroneously thought that Mexican-American children perceive themselves as more negative than their Anglo peers. They have not examined their own assumptions, which have been merely their own stereotyped views of these children, whom they cannot understand, for they appear not to fit into their own middle-class cultural norms, values and standards of behavior.

To excuse teachers' lack of success with these children in the public schools, educators have attributed these youngsters' lack of achievement to such ambiguous causes or effects as "lowered capacity," "linguistic deficits," (though the large majority of the Spanish-surname pupils in these urban areas speak little or no Spanish), "economic disadvantages," due to fewer material assets which are valued by the middle-class Anglo school-culture. Finally, when nothing else explains away these childrens' "learning deficits," they have attributed them to the "unalterable influences" which the Mexican-American child brings from his home to the school, which are, of course, always assumed to be negative, since the families of these youngsters are believed to be indifferent to education and to the goals of the American elementary school.

These oversimplified statements have provided educators with plausible explanations for the behavior and failure in school of Mexican-American children. And perhaps, therefore, they have not felt a genuine need to attempt to assess these students differently and more adequately. Nor has

any real attempt been made to adjust the curriculum or the classroom-organization and methods, or even the language of the teacher, to fit the needs of these children. Although these pupils repeatedly state that the classroom methods confuse them, that they do not understand their teachers, and that there is little in the school curriculum which they find relevant, or with which they can identify, institutional self-analysis has not been allowed.

Purpose of Study

It was for these reasons that the present investigation was undertaken. It was sought to determine what Mexican-American under-achievers' value-clusters look like, and in what way they are different or similar to the value-clusters of Mexican-American achievers, and/or Anglo-American achievers.

The study also aimed at identifying the most common patterns of value-clusters of Mexican-American and Anglo-American boys by correlating items on a self-inventory with membership in the ethnic or achievement group.

Finally, an analysis and interpretation was made of how under-achievement in reading might be influenced by these differences in value-clusters. The purpose was to see if Mexican-American achievers look more like Anglo achievers, or have values and aspirations more akin to those of other Mexican-American boys, even those underachieving in school. If there were differences between differently achieving Mexican-American boys, reasons for such were sought, which might assist the school in planning corrective educational strategies.

One such strategy was reported in this study, and an evaluation in terms of achievement-growth was attempted.

CHAPTER TWO

REVIEW OF LITERATURE

Factors in Underachievement

Briefly, studies have indicated that boys underachieve more than girls; that some racial and ethnic groups achieve significantly higher than others (Rosen); that social class and achievement are correlated (Mulligan); and that contrary to popular opinion, achievement and intelligence are not highly related. We also know that geograghic factors are important, and we know that achievement is higher in certain religious backgrounds (McClelland). It has also been maintained that motivational factors play an important part in achievement, such as the drive or need to achieve (McClelland). Values teachers have affect their interactions with students. For instance, it was found (Battle) that teachers give better grades to students who share their own values, and that low achievers have few values which coincide with high achievers or their teachers. More recently, it has been stated that students achieve according to the level of ability inferred by their teachers. (Rosenthal-Jacobsen)

Still others believe that underachievers have lower opinions of themselves, are frustrated and disappointed in themselves, and that this tension adds to their difficulty in achieving. They talk of the "negative self-image" or negative self-esteem of some children, which they say results in lowered achievement and school-success. (Coopersmith)

Value-Orientations

These, according to Kluckhohn (1954) are complex rank-ordered principles, resulting from the interplay of three distinguishable elements of the evaluative process: the cognitive, the affective, and the directive elements, which give order and direct on to human acts and thoughts as these relate to the solution of human problems. Values reflect the culture of a society, and are widely shared by the members of the culture. If the individual accepted value for himself, it may become a goal for him.

Though many have criticized the American school with being obsessed with achievement and ignoring other cultural values, achievement-levels, particularly in reading, are reported to be progressively lower. National researchers

appear largely hopeless and negative, as they make claims for the existence of "environmental deficits" which are so strong that they cannot be overcome by the children or the school (Coleman). Others blame the essentially "female" characteristic of the school for not being able to copy with the basically masculine orientation and values of lower class and culturally-different boys. (Sexton) Still others center their criticisms on the "docility training" (Henry) of children in urban classrooms by teachers, where children are constantly urged to struggle to gratify the teacher by giving her the answers she expects.

Others have justified that the Colemans explain what they mean by "cognitive deficit", and dared them to admit that the experiential deficits are really covers for explaining the disability in terms of biologically determined unmodifiability (Clark). They also point out (Coles, Gordon and Wilkerson) that many of these children from similar adverse environments DO learn and function normally. Why? It makes common sense that children who do not have toys at home to play with, or books to read, or who never had a pencil before coming to school, cannot be expected to achieve in school, yet common sense, they say, does not tell the whole story. It seems that many studies have fragmented the truth and generalized too singly.

Self Concepts

Self concept theorists believe that one cannot understand and predict human behavior without knowledge of the individual's conscious perceptions of his environment, and of his self as he sees it in relation to the environment. Self-concept is dependent on situations and others' expectations. It is an organization of qualities that the individual attributes to himself in varying situations, and which in turn determines his behavior in these situations. The self concept the, reflects the expectations of others who are important to the individual, or his "significant others". It also reflects the way one defines the situation. Threfore, speaking of the self-concept as affected by educational activities, it can be modified, if teachers and parents can help the child to redefine the situation in order to change his behavior. Since students develop their images of school as a result of expectations of others, it follows that students tend to act in school as they are expected to act. Therefore, the teacher needs to take the role of the other to try to see the school situation as the student sees it.

Measurement of self-concepts can be done generally in two ways: either by the subject's direct statements of self-acceptance, or by measuring discrepancies between the person's self and ideal self-image. Some self-concept theorists believe that negative self-esteem is manifested by

high discrepancy between the two selves.

It is said that children who achieve usually have a healthy self-esteem, but the reverse does not always follows - though it is so generalized by some writers. At best, findings are inconclusive in this area. One study (Campbell) reports that self-esteem increased in relation to school achievement in the lower grades, but decreased in the higher grade levels. The author therefore concluded that teachers should pay more attention to the self-esteem of fourth grade boys than to those in the fifth or sixth grade. In turn, teachers should learn to anticipate the consequences of these self-concepts, and alter instructional methods to take into account the structure and sources of the boys' self-images.

While some writers insist that culturally different pupils have low self-concepts, or negative self-concepts because of their lack of achievement (Gordon, Anderson,Evans) others found that one can have healthy or high self-esteem regardless of achievement, or in spite of an absence of adequate achievement. (Rosenberg, DeBlassie)

Besides achievement, self-concepts are also related and studied in relation to other variables. It has been reported that social class is only weakly related to self-acceptance, and ethnic group affiliation entirely unrelated to self-image (Rosenberg, Coopersmith, DeBlassie, Soares) This indicates that the broader social context does not play as important a role in interpreting one's own success as has been often assumed. Rosenberg who attributed his differences to other factors also implies that there were differences between boys' and girls' attitudes. In addition, he commented that there is not a clear relationship between the social prestige of a group and the self-esteem of its members, and that for a child a more effective interpersonal environment is the neighborhood. Moreover, he pointed out, such self esteem depends on the adequacy of the relationship between one's standards and one's accomplishments. Thus the individual need not necessarily accept the social definition of his worth as his personal definition. In fact, he may even adopt various "coping mechanisms" in order to save his self esteem in face of social disprivilege.

In relation to the family, he also found that broken homes did not necessarily result in a child's low self-image. In fact, one of the more unusual findings related to younger minority boys, who reportedly tend to develop a type of self-esteem that is not based on competitive achievement, or upon social or academic success. Rather, "it is a fundamental feeling of worth derived from the care, love, and affection of his significant others." This in spite of the fact that these boys usually have significantly lower grades in school than other boys. It may even be, Rosenberg says, that a solid, unshakeable feeling of self-acceptance could

be a deterrant to accomplishment. Part of the motivation to work hard in school may be the need to prove one's worth to other people and to oneself. The situation then produces a dilemma: whether it is better for a child to accept himself unconditionally, or to be academically successful.

Worthwhile mentioning in relation to studies of self-values is the factor of the selectivity of self-values. Some writers feel that subjects who "cared a lot" about a quality had lower self-esteem than those who considered the quality relatively unimportant. (Rogers, Rosenberg) It has also been found that girls were more concerned with being well-liked by others, while boys stressed more motoric values - and physical courage. Relating self-values to social class and school adjustment, many have concluded that values of the higher and middle classes and values of the educational system are similar, but antagonistic to many of the values distinctive of the lower classes.

Confusion Concerning Mexican-American Cultural Values

At the present time, psychologists, sociologists and anthropologists, as well as the Mexican-American community appear to be largely in conflict as to what constitutes the current value-orientations and cultural bases of Mexican-American people in the southwest. It is interesting to note that even Mexican-American writers do not agree among themselves, and represent a variety of opinions from one continuum to the other. Some still cling - for whatever reasons - to the old descriptions of the Mexican rural folk-culture and the values on which the people have patterned their behaviors and goals (within the family and without), which have been best described by Kluckhohn and Manuel. Others are largely ambivalent, and question the accuracy of these values in terms of urban Mexican-Americans of today. Some, while they do not reject the value-structure, question whether any empirical data are available to support it. At the same time, however, they themselves are caught in a dilemma - as they insist that schoolteachers and the educational institution must understand "the value-differences and cultural conflicts which the Mexican-American child brings to school." (Carter, Ramirez, Samorra)

Still others, insist that this cultural determinism is a myth (Vaca, Moreau) and a few feel that the Kluckhohn values have been misinterpreted in their consequences for today's living and coping problems (Diaz-Guerrero, Moreau)

Among the things these writers stress are the fact that the family is changing, even in Mexico, (and certainly in the southwest urban areas); that roles assigned to boys and girls and men and women (in the family and outside) are changing; that authority and respect do not have the conno-

tation many Anglos assign it; that the old descriptions are too subjective and have become a folk-myth; or that the ascribed values of the Mexican-American are merely due to economic difficulties and relate more to aspects of poverty than to the culture and ethnicity.

Still others select those values they find convenient, and reject those they consider too negative.(Ramirez)

However, what is important is the way many Anglos in the educational institution USE the old folk-myth as a rationalization and projection. It is said the Anglo assumes and states that he thinks of the Mexican-American as an equal, but rationalizes that he is inferior, so that he can justify treating him differently or blame his lack of achievement onto himself. (Simmons)

Along with these, these school people are convinced that the reason for the inabilities or lack of achievement of Mexican-American pupils is due to the parents' lack of interest in education and the school. Though studies have contradicted these prejudices, educators apparently have not read them, or listened to them.

Among these are the findings that Mexican-American students had more positive feelings about the school and the staff than Anglos, and that they have higher educational and occupational aspirations when compared with similar Anglo students (Demos, Heller, Anderson). To those who question the motivation of the Spanish-speaking to stay in school, it was pointed out that the majority of Spanish-speaking enroll their youngsters in elementary school, and these pupils continue largely through the eighth grades. The question raised then, is if there is motivation in the elementary grades, what happens to it in the 8th, 9th, and 10th grades. (Samorra)

Confusion Concerning Mexican-American Educational Problems

It appears that the literature and researchers very definitely cannot agree on the needs and differences of Mexican-American children as compared with Anglo-American children. Some say that achievement (or lack of it) is related to SES, while others maintain the Mexican-American cannot achieve no matter from what environment. Some blame the educational institutions, others the teachers and their prejudices, still others the "negative family-orientation", while still others maintain the families have much the same values no matter of what culture.

As to ability and achievement, some think they have it, others deny it, still others find no differences. How does one approach the problem and sift the mass of ambivalence and ambiguity?

In this investigation, two areas are of major concern: one concerning ability and achievement - the other that of self-image or self-acceptance. Therefore, we wish to review the existing relevant information in these areas as they concern Mexican-American students.

Gordon, who speaks of today's Mexican-American children as still being under the influence of "the dominant cultural values, which exclude the achievement orientations of the Anglo-American, insists that Mexican-American students score lower on I.Q. measures and achievement-measures, and attributes this failure to whatever he calls "the affective orientation" of the Mexican-American which constrains him toward success. He therefore advocates that we "anglonize" all Mexican-American pupils in our schools, so that they can be successful in our definition.

Capplan found a "higher potential" in Mexican students than in other students from similar environment, yet insisted that these students do not achieve, due to "their lack of initiative", and due to "differentials in values held by the family, which do not contribute to school success".

Erikson, on the other hand, found no differences between Anglos and Mexicans in achievement on such a popular Anglo-American middle-class measure as the California Achievement Test.

Johnson maintained that the achievement tests given in the schools are not valid for this ethnic population, yet nevertheless proposed that scores on the non-language part of the California Mental Maturity Test do not differentiate between Anglos and Mexicans, while verbal scores and total-test scores do.

Jensen believed that the apparant intellectual inferiority of Mexican-American children lies deeper than their not knowing the words used in the verbal parts of most intelligence tests. Furthermore he warned against the inequality of the middle-class instruments when used with lower-class children. However, most importantly, he found that direct measures of learning ability (such as immediate recall, serial learning, and paired associates learning of familiar and abstract objects) evidence that Anglo-American children of low I.Q. are slow learners when compared with Mexican-Americans of the same I.Q's, Mexican-Americans of above average I.W. do not differ significantly in learning ability from Anglo-Americans with low I.Q.s, at least as measured by the California Test of Mental Maturity, are actually quite normal in basic learning ability, though they may be poor in scholastic performance for reasons other than inherently poor learning ability. A low I.Q. in the Anglo-American group, in the other hand, is in most cases a valid indication of poor learning ability. He then suggested

that most of the low I.Q. Mexican-Americans should NOT be placed, as they now are, in classes with the Anglo-Americans of low I.Q.

Corwin compared several tests of ability, the WISC, the Peabody Picture Vocabulary Test, and the Columbia Mental Maturity Scale with elementary school children of both ethnic groups, and found no significant differences between them. She concluded that performance-type intelligence tests give a better estimate of a Mexican-American pupil's potential ability than verbal or language-type intelligence tests.

Jacobsen tends to blame the entire matter of lack of school achievement of Mexican-American children on the type of interaction between teacher and child, rather than basic ability or even socio-economic status.

Still others (Anderson, Carter) believe that the school failure of Mexican-Americans is simply a result of inadequate educational programs - not the ability, social class, or values the children or their parents place on education.

Studies relating to whatever definition is used by different writers with regard to "the self-image of Mexican-American children" also vary. Some merely express their opinions about the alleged negative self-image of these students; others provide some data on which they based their conclusions. Again there is much confusion and ambivalence and ambiguity.

Anderson does not prove or deal with "self-concept", but presupposes that Mexican-American students lack self-confidence and a healthy self-image. Gordon begs the Mexican-American child to "free himself from his family influences" because of its negative orientation. Evans just claims that Mexican-American students have "lower self-concept of ability than Anglo-American students".

Carter, on the other hand, feels there is no difference in self-concepts between Anglos and Mexican-Americans. Rosenberg insists that some minority children have very healthy, adequate, intact egos and unconditional self-confidence. But three writers (Diaz, Guerrero, DeBlassie, and this investigator) allege that Mexican-Americans have in many ways MORE POSITIVE self-acceptance than other ethnic groups.

DeBlassie and Healy compared various measures of self-concept among three group of children, Mexican-American, Anglo-American, and Negro and found the aspects of self-acceptance and moral-ethical self to be higher for the Mexican-American group than for either of the two others. He also found

little differences between the various social classes and most aspects of self-image. All in all he maintains that the Mexican-American is most accepting of the self he perceives.

Diaz-Guerrero talks of the strengths in relation to coping with difficulties that the Mexican child derives from his family and culture. The present study indicated that Mexican-American boys, though underachieving (similarly to Rosenberg's concept) often have very healthy and self-accepting self-images, nor do they suffer from discrepancies between real and idealized self-images.

CHAPTER THREE

METHODOLOGY

Objectives

This investigation proposed to raise two issues: how the values of the subculture influence the underachievement of the Mexican-American boy and -- what happens to him if he is put into a new educational strategy.

The overall purpose of this research was to develop instructional procedures for underachieving Mexican boys in the upper elementary grades which show promise of assisting them to learn as measured by standardized achievement tests. It was hoped that modified educational strategies might be utilized which better suit the values and self-concepts of Mexican-American boys.

Hypotheses

The two chief HYPOTHESES raised were:

1. Differences exist in qualitative characteristics of self-image in relation to ethnic classifications, and in relation to achievement level in reading.

    a. Mexican-American underachieving boys differ from Anglo-American achieving boys in variations of self-concept.

    b. Mexican-American underachieving boys differ from Mexican-American achieving boys in variations of self-concept.

    c. Mexican-American achieving boys differ from Anglo-American achieving boys in variations of self-concept.

2. The reading achievement of culturally different children is directly related to differences in teaching techniques used to accomplish reading skills.

Population

The total sample in this investigation consisted of 150 boys, one hundred of Mexican descent and fifty of Anglo-American heritage. These boys were drawn from elementary classes in grades four, five, and six from three elementary

schools designated as "disadvantaged target areas" in a medium-size urban school district in Los Angeles County. These target areas contained the largest percentage of low-income families and the largest numbers of families on welfare. They also included the highest proportions of Spanish surname pupils in the school district.

Variables

Achievement. The fifty Anglo-American boys were called "achievers", for they were alleged to be reading at or above grade level, both on standardized reading tests, and as reported by their teachers. The Mexican-American boys in group MAC were equally achieving on or above grade level. The Mexican-American boys in the experimental MAE group, were "underachieving" by one or more years below grade level, both on standardized tests, and by judgment of their teachers. They were placed into an experimental "prescriptive reading program". All Mexican-American boys selected had Spanish surnames; while all Anglo-American boys included in this study were white Anglo-Americans.

Intelligence. All boys in the investigation were said to be of "average" or "normal" intelligence, encompassing a range of approximately 90 to 110 I.Q. as measured by group standardized or individual intelligence tests administered in the school district. Groups were matched in I.Q. as well as grade level.

Ethnicity. 150 of the boys (MAE and MAC) were of Mexican descent and 50 of Anglo-American descent. The MAC group, or achieving group received the regular reading instruction in the district, while the MAE, or experimental group participated in the prescriptive reading program.

Instruments

Two instruments were used to measure the variables under investigation: Self and Ideal Self-Concepts of the boys in relation to school, family, peer and self were assessed by means of Rogers' Personal Adjustment Inventory. Reading growth during one school year was measured with the Stanford Reading Test.

Interviews with one or more parents of the boys under investigation were conducted subsequently.

Method of Data Analysis

It was stated by Rogers that the best way to use his instrument is by an examination of the individual responses on the test and their relation to each other, rather than employing total scores as means for predictions. Therefore,

in the present experiment such an attempt was made by an analysis of the separate items in the five parts of the inventory. In this manner it was analyzed what Mexican-American underachievers' value-clusters look like, and in what way they are different or similar to those value-clusters of Mexican-American achievers, and/or Anglo-American achievers.

In the first section of the instrument, which we call ASPIRATIONS, the child is asked to make choices of goals, or aspirations or wish-fulfillment. The choices involve occupations, and Rogers constructed this section with the idea of relating to the child's real world and capacity to see if he makes extravagant choices, practical choices, or bizarre and fantastic choices. Rogers asserts that extravagant choices, not in line with the child's ability, indicates feelings of inferiority.

The second section involves wishes again, but these are limited to statements of personal capacity, better parental relationships, and better social and peer relationships. We have called this section WISHES.

The third part is a polite and indirect way of asking the child what people have the most value to him. Rogers believes that a normal happy child would pick three playmates to go with him to the "desert island". But the child whose family ties are closer, and therefore for whom social adjustment is less developed, would choose members of his own family to go with him. Some more serious cases, cannot make any choice, and end up with "my cat", or names of imaginary or cartoon characters.

Section four is rather difficult to comprehend and follow in terms of directions, particularly if the inventory is administered to groups of children. It involves the child's response to his perceived actual self and his perception of his ideal self, and the amount of discrepancy between the two selves.

Section five covers a wide variety of subjects and yields information in areas of parental pressure, the child's attitude about maturity, his value of himself in relation to others, his preference of activities and sex of playmates, etc.

Because of the reading difficulties experienced by some of the subjects in this investigation, the administrator thought it best to read the inventory to and with the boys, so that assurance was obtained that all of the children understood the directions and purposes of the inventory and its various sections. Since understanding of directions was not being assessed in this inventory, the administrator

was also free to discuss meanings of words, or words unknown to the children. It was felt through such test administration, carefully undertaken by one person to each of the 150 boys, maximum reliability could be obtained.

The inventory was not scored, as had been previously discussed, in terms of the adjustment-categories, or a total adjustment score. Instead, each item was tabulated and analyzed by itself and in relation to the other items and sections of the test.

The statistical methods and tools employed were Chi-Squares, Coefficients of Contingency, and phi-coefficients which were used to determine the degree of significance of differences of the three distributions, and the degree of relationship between the three distributions of the three groups under observation.

Differences in gains of reading skills were contrasted through differences in means derived from pre and post-testing, by use of Fisher's t-test.

Limitations

Findings for one community are not always the same as for others. Consequently, the findings in this study should be interpreted with this limitation in mind. While this is an urban community much like many others in this area, it may not be like them in other ways. Therefore, inferences made here may not hold for findings of studies in other areas.

Ethnic group membership was restricted to pupils of Anglo-American and Mexican-American descent. Furthermore, Anglo-Americans included only white Anglos. Mexican-Americans selected were those with Spanish surnames.

The investigator was aware of the criticisms by California educators of the reading instrument, and the fact that it professes to largely middle-class values, and may or may not fit culturally different children. However, it was desired to take a look at how these pupils do perform in the American school, where they do have to take such tests, which cannot be avoided. If, however, these children can possibly be taught in more relevant ways, then they should also be able to increase their reading skills as defined by the schools, which would include such a test as a measure.

To counteract some of the possible weaknesses of the test, it was used here not by the typical percentile or grade placement score per se, but by comparison of pre-and post-testing in terms of READING GROWTH made by pupils, no matter where the starting point was.

Concerning the INVENTORY, it was not desired to measure the total adjustment factors, but rather to see how boys perceive themselves in relation to others, and what they value and need in their socialization development in accordance with the factors which Rogers felt were important as he constructed the instrument. The aim was to see if some of the factors, and if some of the items on this inventory, would discriminate between either ethnic group, or between the two achievement groups, so that educators might make profitable inferences, which they could then apply to educational procedures for ethnically, and/or socially different children.

Prescriptive Reading Program

The particular remedy proposed as a possible model for Mexican-American underachieving boys - in which the MAE boys were placed - consists largely of individualized learning and individualized teaching, featuring at once a different classroom organization, different kinds of materials, and a different type of student involvement. It is a highly technical, and structured reading technique in which pupils operate a contractual program with their teacher.

Some researchers speak of different "learning styles" and the possible need for more motor-activity. This program allows for such activity in the classroom, which has a variety of learning centers. In addition, the programmed devices are highly auto instructional, giving the boy greater mastery over the environment, and thus reducing his alleged passivity. The methods used here are also geared to increase the pupil's effective use of time, thereby giving him a greater feeling of competence, and a decreased feeling of anticipating failure and the pain that goes with it.

It is also said that Mexican-American children, more than others, will not compete. In this reading class they are allowed to proceed at their own rate, independently, and without losing face in front of their peers or their teacher. The self-corrective feedback of the programmed materials occurs independently of teacher reward or teacher disapproval, which is a marked deviation from the typical regular elementary classroom. It is hoped that this would result in a decrease of alienation of the youngster.

Finally, researchers have stated repeatedly that the most important factor leading to a student's school success is the amount of time spent in one-to-one contact with the adult teacher. This individualized, and at the same time unemotional involvement is at the center of this educational prescription.

Parent Interviews

The mothers and/or father of the Mexican-American and Anglo-American boys in this investigation were interviewed in their homes by a team of interviewers. Information was sought to be gained from the parents concerning similar ares of values and needs where the boys had been tapped previously. Fathers' and mothers' attitudes, values, goals and relationships with the pupils sampled were also elicited, including their perceptions of the boys in relation to mother, father, sibling, as well as their attitudes and concerns about the school and education.

CHAPTER FOUR

FINDINGS AND ANALYSIS

1. Findings related to the first hypothesis and its three subhypotheses evidenced a variety of highly significant quantitative and qualitative differences existing in comparisons of self-concepts and values of the three groups under investigation.

2. Forty-two statistically significant Chi-Squares were obtained in these comparisons; sixteen at the .001 level, ten at the .01 level, and sixteen at the .05 level. (Table 1)

3. By groups, as expected, the most significant differences in distributions were found between the MAE and the AA group, twelve in total. Nine significant differences were obtained comparing the two Mexican-American groups, and five such important contrasts between the two achieving groups, the MACs and the AAs.

4. Nine out of sixteen items in the SELF/IDEAL SELF-CONCEPT section (four) were able to show that the three groups of boys felt differently about a number of things important in their lives. Six or seven of these items might be considered to relate importantly to the standards and goals of the typical elementary classroom. These were as follows:

	sign. level	comparison	interpreta.
TO BE BIG AND STRONG	.001	MAE/AA	MAEs had
	.01	all	greatest de-
	.05	MAE/MAC	sire for this
ACTIVE-PASSIVE ORIENTA-	.001-.05	all	MAE most ac-
TION (2 items)	.001	MAC/AA	tive, AA most
	.01 -.05	MAE/AA	passive, MAC
	.05	MAE/MAC	more like AA
TO BE BRIGHT	.05	MAE/MAC	many MAEs felt not bright, but accepted this
GRADES ON SCHOOLWORK	.05	MAC/AA	AA had best grades

TABLE 1

HIGHLY SIGNIFICANT DIFFERENCES IN DISTRIBUTIONS
ON ITEMS OF P. A. INVENTORY

Level of Confidence	#	Section	Comparisons
.001	ONE:	ASPIRATIONS	
		All choices	All three groups
		All choices	MAE/MAC
		1st choices	All three groups
		1st choices	MAE/MAC
		1st choices	MAE/AA
	TWO:	WISHES	
		1st choices	All three groups
	FOUR:	SELF-CONCEPTS	
		# 1	MAE/AA
		# 5	All three groups
		# 5	MAC/AA
		#13	All three groups
		#13	MAE/MAC
		#16	All three groups
		#16	MAE/MAC
		#16	MAE/AA
	FIVE:	ATTITUDES	
		#21	All three groups
		#21	MAE/AA
.01	ONE:	ASPIRATIONS	
		All choices	MAE/AA
	THREE:	PEOPLE VALUED	
		Cluster groups	All three groups
	FOUR:	SELF-CONCEPTS	
		# 1	All three groups
		# 5	MAE/AA
		# 8	All three groups
		# 8	MAC/AA

TABLE 1 --Continued

Level of Confidence	#	Section	Comparisons
.01 (cont.)	FIVE:	ATTITUDES	
		# 2	All three groups
		# 3	MAE/AA
		#11	MAE/AA
		#21	MAC/AA
.02 - .05	ONE:	ASPIRATIONS	
		1st choices	MAC/AA
	TWO:	WISHES	
		1st choices	MAE/AA
	THREE:	PEOPLE VALUED	
		Cluster groups	All three groups
	FOUR:	SELF-CONCEPTS	
		# 1	MAE/MAC
		# 4	MAC/AA
		# 6	MAE/AA
		#14	MAE/MAC
		#15	All three groups
		#15	MAE/MAC
		#15	MAE/AA
	FIVE:	ATTITUDES	
		# 2	MAE/MAC
		# 2	MAE/AA
		# 3	All three groups
		# 6	All three groups
		#11	All three groups
		#13	MAE/MAC

	sign. level	comparison	interpreta.
LEADERSHIP-peergroup	.05	MAE/AA	MAE had most AA wanted it most
MONEY	.001	all	MAE had enough
	.001	MAE/MAC	
OBEY MOTHER	.01	all	MAE like AA MAC rebeled
	.01	MAC/AA	
FIGHT SIBLINGS	.001	all	MAE fights and accepts it others not
	.001	MAE/MAC	
	.001	MAC/AA	

5. Six of the twenty-one items in the ATTITUDES section (five) evidenced highly significantly different values and attitudes among the three groups of boys. Four of these have a direct bearing on school relations, and the other two might be interpreted as being so important that they supersede the values school personnel may have for the boys of this age group. These differences were as follows:

TO BE STRONG	.01	MAE/AA	MAE was strongest; AA was weakest
	.05	all	
CHILDREN ARE MEAN	.05	MAE/MA	MAE least paranoid
HOW MANY FRIENDS?	.01	all	MAE wanted hundreds of friends
	.05	MAE/MAC	
	.05	MAE/AA	
WANT PEOPLE TO LIKE ME	.001	all	MAEs did not care at all AAs cared, tried hard & upset if not liked
	.001	MAE/AA	
	.01	MAC/AA	
SIBLINGS PRAISED	.01	MAE/AA	MAE hated it or did not care; AA was proud
	.05	all	
GO TO CIRCUS WITH	.05	all	MAE with most fathers; AA with most friends

6. Very highly related to education and educational goals, were the aspirational choices made by the boys, which indicated quite conclusively and significantly that the preferences of the MAEs were decidedly different from those of the other boys. Practically all of the comparisons mad e in section one: ASPIRATIONS were statistically significant, particularly those involving "first choices only". Most of the comparisons were at the .001 level, comparing all three groups, comparing the MAE with the AA group, and the MAEs with the MACs.

7. The MAEs chose distinctly technical and formal occupations, while both the MACs and the AAs preferred informal and fantasy oriented endeavors. (Table 2 and 3)

8. In the WISHES section (two) only the first choices evidenced statistically significant differences between the three comparison groups; however these were at the very significant level of .001 between all groups, and .05 between the MAE and AA boys. Qualitatively, these differences in wishes or needs concerned different areas in the boys' lives. For the AAs it was to have more friends and to be better liked by the boys and girls, while for the MACs desires were chiefly in self-areas: to be bigger and stronger, etc. On the other hand, the MAEs expressed a distinct need and desire for better parental relations. More specifically they wished for more emotional satisfactions from their parents. (Table 4 & 5)

9. Section three of the inventory, which according to its author should be taken as a lark, evidenced some degree of significance when the boys were grouped into cluster-groups. Differences at .01 and .05 levels were then obtained in comparisons. It evidenced that the MAEs were better adjusted socially and more independent of their parents, while the other two groups were still relatively dependent on their mothers and fathers. (Table 6)

10. Equally significant as the analysis of differences in distributions, were the findings with regard to the question of whether the way a MAE, MAC, or AA boy answered an item depended on his group membership. This was ascertained by means of coefficients of contingency and phi-coefficients, fifty of which were deemed to show relationship or association between certain items and sections of the inventory and membership in one of the three groups. (Table 7 and 8)

11. Twenty-eight of such coefficients were obtained at higher than .30 levels. The nine highest and most significant were in comparisons of all three groups, or in comparisons between the Mexican-American underachieving group and the Anglo-American group of youngsters.

TABLE 2

P. A. INVENTORY--SECTION ONE: ASPIRATIONS
TOTAL CHOICES

Aspirations	MAE	MAC	AA
Jet Pilot	17	10	4
Policeman	17	10	12
Doctor	16	8	3
Army Officer	15	12	10
Inventor	11	6	16
Football Player	9	16	8
Movie Star	4	12	11
Detective	3	10	8

Statistical Significance of
Distribution Comparisons

** = very significant differences

Statistical Significance	Three Groups	MAE/MAC	MAE/AA	MAC/AA
Chi-square	34.110	33.668	28.541	12.224
Degrees of Freedom	14	11	11	11
Level of Confidence	.001**	.001**	.01**	.20
Coefficient of Contingency	.35	.35	.34	.25

TABLE 3

P. A. INVENTORY--SECTION ONE: ASPIRATIONS
FIRST CHOICES ONLY

Aspirations	MAE	MAC	AA
Jet Pilot	9	4	0
Doctor	9	1	3
Policeman	6	5	5
Movie Star	5	8	9
Football Player	0	10	6
Lawyer	0	6	5
Inventor	4	0	6

Statistical Significance of
Distribution Comparisons

* = significant differences
** = very significant differences

Statistical Significance	Three Groups	MAE/MAC	MAE/AA	MAC/AA
Chi-square	33.413	29.098	24.624	12.150
Degrees of Freedom	12	6	6	6
Level of Confidence	.001**	.001**	.001**	.05*
Coefficient of Contingency	.55	.55	.52	.39

TABLE 4

P. A. INVENTORY--SECTION TWO: WISHES
FIRST CHOICES ONLY

Wishes	MAE	MAC	AA
Stronger	15	14	13
Brighter	9	9	10
More money	8	6	13
Father and mother more love	5	1	3
Get along better with father and mother	6	7	0
Bigger	1	5	4
Better liked by peers	3	3	1
Have more friends	0	2	3

Statistical Significance of Distribution Comparisons

* = significant differences
** = very significant differences

Statistical Significance	Three Groups	MAE/MAC	MAE/AA	MAC/AA
Chi-square	18.928	7.730	13.686	11.980
Degrees of Freedom	14	7	7	7
Level of Confidence	.001**	not signif.	.05*	.20
Coefficient of Contingency	.34	.28	.36	.34

TABLE 5

P. A. INVENTORY--SECTION TWO: WISHES
CLUSTER GROUPS OF CHOICES

Wishes	MAE %	MAC %	AA %
Self Values			
To be bigger and stronger	34	36	30
Parental Values			
To get along better with father and mother and have them love me more	53	31	16
Peer Values			
To have more friends and have boys and girls like me better	24	39	37

TABLE 6

P. A. INVENTORY--SECTION THREE: PEOPLE VALUED
CLUSTER GROUPS

Valued	MAE	MAC	AA
Parents and family only	14	27	15
Friends only	15	7	8

Statistical Significance of Distribution Comparisons

Statistical Significance	Three Groups
Chi-square	6.680
Degrees of Freedom	2
Level of Confidence	.05*
Coefficient of Contingency	.27

* = significant differences
** = very significant differences

Valued	MAE	MAC	AA
Mixed--but family first	21	41	36
Mixed--but friends first	37	21	21

Statistical Significance of Distribution Comparisons

Statistical Significance	Three Groups
Chi-square	12.922
Degrees of Freedom	2
Level of Confidence	.01**
Coefficient of Contingency	.26

TABLE 7

ITEMS ON P. A. INVENTORY WHIC EVIDENCE A MARKED RELATIONSHIP TO THE ETHNIC GROUP MAKING THE CHOICE

Coefficients of Contingency

Section		Range of Coefficients
ONE:	ASPIRATIONS	From .25 to .55
TWO:	WISHES	From .28 to .36
THREE:	PEOPLE VALUED	From .26 to .27
FOUR:	SELF-CONCEPTS	From .24 to .39[a]
FIVE:	ATTITUDES	From .24 to .45[b]

[a] 8 items out of 16

[b] 9 items out of 21

Relationship of Ethnic Group to Self-Values

Section and Item	All Groups	MAE/MAC	MAE/AA	MAC/AA
ASPIRATIONS				
All choices	.35	.35	.34	.25
1st choices	.55	.55	.52	.39
WISHES				
1st choices	.35	.28	.36	.34
SELF-CONCEPTS				
# 1	.35	.31	.39	-
# 4	-	-	-	.25
# 5	.39	.25	.32	.37
# 6	-	-	.25	-
# 8	.28	-	-	.31
#13	.32	.36	.26	-
#15	.26	.27	.24	-
#16	.34	.34	.34	-
ATTITUDES				
# 2	.29	-	.28	.27
# 3	.25	-	.30	-
# 5	.26	-	-	-
# 6	.25	-	.24	-
# 7	.26	-	.26	.25
#11	.35	-	.35	-
#19	.25	-	.25	-
#21	.39	-	.45	.30

TABLE 8

LEVELS OF SIGNIFICANCE OF ETHNIC GROUP COMPARISONS AND DEGREE OF RELATIONSHIP OF MEMBERSHIP IN ETHNIC GROUP AND SELF-VALUES ON P. A. INVENTORY

χ^2 = Chi-square
C. = Coefficient of Contingency

χ^2 and C.	Three Groups	MAE/ MAC	MAE/ AA	MAC/ AA	Totals
χ^2					
.001	7	4	4	1	16
.01	4	-	4	2	10
.05	5	5	4	2	16
Totals	16	9	12	5	42
C.					
.30 or higher	9	5	9	5	28
.24 to .30	8	3	7	4	22
Totals	17	8	16	9	50

12. Standing out in significance above all others were the coefficients of contingency obtained through the aspirational choices the boys made, which showed very decided relationship to group membership, C being .55 and .52.

13. Other significant correlations were obtained as follows: (in order of significance)

DO YOU WANT PEOPLE TO LIKE YOU	.45 and .39
WISHES - first choices	.36 and .35
SELF/IDEAL SELF - TO BE BIG & STRONG	.39 and .35
SELF/IDEAL SELF - ACTIVE/PASSIVE	.39 and .32
ASPIRATIONS - ALL CHOICES	.35 and .34
DO YOU HAVE GOOD FRIENDS	.35 and .35
SELF/IDEAL SELF - SIBLING FIGHTING	.34 and .34
SELF/IDEAL SELF - SPENDING MONEY	.36 and .32

14. Findings related to the second hypothesis under investigation in the study evidenced a difference in reading growth made by the three groups, but this difference was short of being statistically significant by means of the t-test. Table 9)

15. Nonetheless, teachers and administrators would agree that the gains made by the MAEs in the Prescriptive Reading Program, which were 1.132 years over the school year, were highly significant when compared with the reading gain made by the Anglo-American boys in the regular elementary reading program, which amounted to only .796 months. The MACs in the same regular program gained .962 months over the same period of time. When one recalls that these MAEs were considerably underachieving before entering the experimental reading class, and when one remembers that the achievement deficits of these children are cumulative as they reach each higher grade, such markedly superior achievement in reading is hardly to be expected. Therefore, this educator maintains that a statistically significant difference is not the only difference that makes a significant difference.

TABLE 9

DIFFERENCE BETWEEN PRE AND POST READING TESTS FOR EACH ETHNIC GROUP IN ONE SCHOOL YEAR (STANFORD READING TEST)

N = 50 in each group

MAE (Years)	MAC (Years)
+ 1.132	+ .962

t = .618
Not significant statistically

MAE (Years)	AA (Years)
+ 1.132	+ .796

t = 1.128
Not significant statistically

MAC (Years)	AA (Years)
+ .962	+ .796

t = .535
Not significant statistically

Table 10
SELF VALUES

	MAE	MAC	AA
BIG & STRONG	strong	strong	weak
ACTIVE/PASSIVE	active, realistic	passive, daydreaming, escaping	passive, daydreaming
ACTIVE/PASSIVE	good ballplayers like rough games	want to be best ballplayers; like rough games	good ballplayers; don't like rough games, or very little
MATERIALISTIC	not very satisfied with economic situation	wish more spending money, not satisfied	need spending money, not satisfied
BRIGHTNESS	some are, but say they are not	bright, but wish to be brightest, not satisfied	bright, but some say they are not
GOALS	---------most - happy, ordinary, with good job--------- some high aspirations		
MATURITY	anxious - want to be older; a few regress	same as are-adjusted a few regress	most adjusted, status quo - 9 to 12 wish
	SCHOOL VALUES		
ASPIRATIONS	technical, and formal striving: power and humanitarian	informal and daydreaming	informal and daydreaming
READING	not care too much	wish to read better	satisfied with ability
GRADES	value grades most	least satisfied with	have the best grades
DUMB IN SCHOOL	feel less dumb in school than others	not dumb	not dumb

Table 11
PARENTAL AND FAMILY ATTITUDES

	MAE	MAC	AA
WISHES	need love & better relationship parents	some need for better relationship, but compensate	secure with parental relations
SOCIAL ADJUSTMENT	superior-pick playmates; not dependent on family	need mothers close also fathers - dependent	need mothers close overdependent
DEPENDENCE/ INDEPENDENCE	----------all still	dependent on adults for fewer want dependency some wish independence	orders----------
OBEY MOTHER	obey mother	fewer obedient-conflict some want to be more obedient	obey mother
SIBLINGS	fight with siblings no conflict or guilt	do not fight with siblings	don't fight with siblings - least conflic
GO TO CIRCUS	with father fewest mothers chosen	with father only	with friends fewest fathers chosen
TREATED BY PARENTS	equal to brothers & sisters	equal to brothers & sisters	feel favored by parents
SIBLINGS PRAISED	resent it - hate it- don't like it - most say: don't care	proud of siblings	proudest of siblings
PARENTS'GOALS	----------all satisfied with happy and ordinary and good job-------- some more ambitious		

Table 12
PEER RELATIONS

	MAE	MAC	AA
WISHES	no needs, adjusted	middle between MAE and AA	need friends and be more liked; not well adjusted
SOCIAL ADJUSTMENT	chose playmates well adjusted	not close with peers no security with peers	not close with peers dependent on mother poorly adjusted
LEADERSHIP	many are most do not care to be no conflicts	would like very much to be	fewest are, but most would like very much to be
POPULARITY	----------all similar -	all wish to be more popular----------	
GIRLFRIENDS	----------all similar - more feel popular with girls	not too interested in girls----------	
FRIENDS	wish for hundreds in reality few or many	wish for many and hundreds; in reality many and hundreds	wish for a few in reality say have many
GO TO CIRCUS	not with friends	fairly evenly divided	with friends
TREATED MEAN	----------all similar - least "often" most "never"	sometimes---------- mixed	---------- least "never" most "often" - some paranoid
BOYS OR GIRLS	----------all similar - more popular with girls than MAC or AA	more popular with boys	generally---------- fewest popular with girls
WISH TO BE LIKED	don't care at all	try hard and are glad	very upset if not liked - try very hard

Findings from Parent Interviews

The information gained from the three groups of parents (MAE, MAC, AA) was assembled so that statistical comparisons and interpretations could be made. Eighteen of the comparisons proved to be statistically significant at the .001, .01 or .05 level. (Table 13)

The following areas yielded significant results:

1. The parents of the three groups of boys evidenced differential educational backgrounds. Most significant differences were obtained in the comparison of the MAE and AA groups: MAE parents had more incidences of education up to the 6th grade level, or below, and least post-high school education. The MAC parents outnumbered any of the others in terms of post high school attendance; while fewer of the AA parents dropped out before high school graduation than any others.

2. Comparing education of fathers against that of mothers, in the MAC group of parents, fathers had significantly more education than their wives; while in the other groups generally the mothers were better educated than the fathers.

3. When asked if they had "time to read", the adults yielded very significant differences. Again, MAC parents read the most, and MAE parents the least. Surprisingly, the greatest difference in "finding time to read" was between the two Mexican-American groups of adults.

4. In an open-ended question and discussion about priorities of values assigned by the parents for their individual sons, significantly different emphases were given by those interviewed. Both Mexican-American parent groups stressed primarily "education" as the foremost desired value, and significantly more so than the Anglo group under investigation. The latter placed higher values on "being happy and healthy". The MAC group also stressed "moral values" - though in second place. The AA parents were concerned with personal problems that might beset their sons.

5. Similarly, when questioned about the possibility of some existing problems of the boys, differences were obtained in the kind of concerns the different parents had. MAE parents were primarily concerned with the family. AA parents and some of the MAC parents were preoccupied with personal and emotional problems. Both AA and MAE parents had considerable school concerns. Largest differences were found between the two Mexican-American parent groups, with MACs almost completely unconcerned with family or school difficulties.

6. Since the MAC students in the study seemed so "driven

Table 13

HIGHLY SIGNIFICANT DIFFERENCES IN DI CRICTUIONS OF QUESTIONS IN PARENT INTERVIEWS

QUESTION	COMPARISON	LEVEL OF CONFIDENCE	INTERPRETATION
DIFFERENTIAL EDUCATION OF PARENTS	all groups MAE/AA MAE/MAC	.01 .001 .05	MAEs more 6th grade and lower MACs more high school plus AAs least below high school graduation
EDUCATION OF FATHERS AND MOTHERS	all groups	.05	MACs fathers higher education MAE and AAs mothers more education
PARENTS' READING	all groups MAE/MAC MAE/AA	.01 .01 .05	MACs read most MAEs read least
BOYS MUST EXCEL IN SCHOOL	All groups MAE/AA MAC/AA	.001 .001 .01	MAEs must excel most for AAs it does not matter
BOYS MUST IMPROVE	all groups MAE/AA	.05 .01	MAEs must improve most - parents least proud; MAC parents most proud
DIFFERENTIALS IN VALUES	all groups MAE/AA MAC/AA	.01 .05 .05	no differences among MA groups education valued most both MA groups; happiness and health most by AAs
DIFFERENTIAL PROBLEMS	MAE/MAC	.05	MAE-family problems-some school
FAVORITISM IN FAMILY	all groups MAC/AA	.05 .05	MAE least favored AA parents favor girls more
SCHOOL CRITICISMS	no statistical only qualitative differences		MAC most satisfied MAE wish better teacher/ parent relation; AAs complain most about teachers

to succeed" and were achieving well in the regular classrooms, it was believed that this might be due to the parents' high achievement motivation, and/or pressure. Yet, when the fathers and mothers were queried on the subject, it appeared that the MAE parents placed more pressure on their boys than any of the other groups, even though these boys were still underachieving in the school. Least achievement-drive was evidenced by the Anglo parents in this study. All comparisons were statistically significant.

7. Similarly to the above, MAE parents were least satisfied with the actual achievement of their boys and desired their improvement the most. MAC parents were the proudest and most contented about their sons' work in school.

8. Most Mexican-American boys mentioned that they feel comfortable fighting with their brothers and sisters, however, none of the parents seemed to approve of this, when questioned. While there were no significant differences among the three parent groups, parents disagreed with their children on this point.

9. Since the Inventory had evidenced differential needs and wishes for the three groups of boys, it was important to question their parents with regard to the boys' relations to their fathers and mothers, and vice versa. When the parents were questioned, they seemed to perceive the situation much the same way the boys had indicated previously, i.e. the MAE boys were NOT favored in the family, and particularly not by their fathers. The MAC and AA boys were often the favorites. Also, while all boys seemed to relate better and more closely with their mothers, fewer MAE boys reportedly talked with their fathers, and more MAE boys were not at all close to, or received much affection from either father or mother. More MAC boys were mentioned to be close to their fathers than any of the other boys.

10. When questioned about their feelings about the school and the teachers, the MAC parents seemed the most comfortable and most satisfied. MAE parents were most demanding of the school wanting particularly better parent-teacher relations. AA parents just plainly complained about teachers on several issues.

11. An attempt was made to ask Carter's question of the parents: "whether the school should expect the child to change, or whether the school should change to meet the needs of the pupil." This was a difficult point to get across to some of the parents, and answers were not really conclusive. There were no differences among the parent-groups, and feelings were pretty much divided on the issue. However, to some degree MAC parents were most willing to insist that the school and not the child needs to change for today's society.

12. An effort was also made to discuss the question of "becoming Anglos" with the Mexican-American parents, or whether they felt strongly about retaining their own culture, and living in both worlds. Again, this point was difficult to communicate. Yet, approximately three out of five parents favored retaining the Mexican culture and living in both worlds simultaneously, and rejected the need to become Anglonized.

CHAPTER FIVE

CONCLUSIONS AND RECOMMENDATIONS

Conclusions

1. Significant differences in self-concepts, values, and role-conceptions were found to exist in this study between Mexican-American and Anglo-American boys of ages nine through thirteen, which influence their educational behaviors and achievements.

2. Some of the conclusions from this study with regard to educational values differed from those drawn from previous studies reported of Mexican-American pupils, for example:

   A. Contrary to stereotyped views, Mexican-American boys, EVEN THOUGH underachieving in school, do not perceive themselves as more negative than their Anglo peers, or even their better-achieving peers.

   B. Contrary to many educators' perceptions, Mexican-American boys, though underachieving in school, value grades and education, and do not consider themselves "dumb in schoolwork." Furthermore, in this study it appeared that the Mexican-American boys' parents (MAE) placed a higher value on "education" than the Anglo-American parents, and in addition were more achievement-oriented for their sons than the boys themselves. This, in spite of the fact that they could not serve as "educational models" or examples for them. As a result of the high priority of this value, they also demanded improved educational performance of the students, and improved communication between them and the teachers.

   C. Differing again from other studies, this investigation found evidence that Mexican-American boys not only do not have lower occupational aspirations than their Anglo peers, but in effect, evidenced higher occupational goals for themselves than the other groups with which they were compared.

   D. Mexican-American pupils in this study appeared more self-accepting than their Anglo peers or their

achieving Mexican-American peers. There were no noticeable discrepancies between their real and their ideal selves, and therefore this is taken as another evidence of the lack of low self-esteem of these youngsters.

Some of the other conclusions based on the findings of comparisons of the three groups concerned adjustments, values, needs, and attitudes and relations with others. Among these, worth mentioning in summary were:

3. Mexican-American boys in this study appeared to have social adjustment surprisingly superior to that of their Anglo peers. They were also more realistic and mature in their aspirations than their Anglo peers.

4. Mexican-American boys, though from lower socio-economic environments, are not dissatisfied with their material status, differing here from Anglo boys from similar social-class backgrounds.

5. Mexican-American boys prefer to obey adults in author ity, rather than to rebel against them, as is so often maintained. In fact, it is concluded that they depend on adults for their decisions and gain security from this adult exercise.

6. Findings point to a need of the Mexican-American boys to get along better with their parents, particularly with their fathers. On the other hand, there is some evidence among the boys in this group that the Mexican-American family is changing, in that the boys under investigation here are no longer overdependent on their mothers, but appear rather emancipated from them. In this study it is the Anglo boy who is over-dependent on his mother. Interviews with parents verified these findings, and increased the suspicion that these Mexican-American boys are closer emotionally to their peer-group than to either of their parents. One wonders from these findings why the MAE boys are not favored or even well accepted by their fathers, when onthe other hand they accept themselves so well? Is it because of their underachievement? Can't their fathers love them for what they are unstead of what they do?

Some of the findings more in agreement with data and conclusions from other investigators were:

7. Mexican-American boys are more active than their Anglo-peers, who are significantly more passive.

8. Mexican-American boys permit themselves strong sibling rivalry, and probably need to compete with their brothers and sisters for favors of their parents. Not so the Anglo boys in this experimentation.

9. Mexican-American boys aged nine through thirteen do not value "reading for its own sake" -- a value featured in the typical American school. They also reject the American cultural value of "leadership."

10. Mexican-American boys do not feel they are as bright as their Anglo peers, and seem to have internalized and accepted the school's view of them with regard to intelligence -- even when they are in reality as bright as the other boys.

11. Mexican-American underachievers are most significantly different in the areas compared in this study from the Anglo-American boys observed -- while Mexican-American achieving boys are more like their Anglo counterparts than like their own ethnic peer-group.

12. The Adjustment Inventory used in this investigation lends itself well to investigations of self/ideal self-concepts and value-orientations of boys, when items in the inventory are examined and analyzed separately, and in relation to each other as recommended by its author (Carl Rogers).

    Considerable reliability was obtained in the study with the inventory, since several items in different sections featured similar values and attitudes, and yielded highly comparable results.

13. Finally, it appears that when an attempt is made to remedy the educational disadvantage of the Mexican-American boy in the American classroom and American school, by eliminating the value-discrepancies -- it can be found that these boys will achieve a great deal more in reading than they would have, and did previously, in the typical reading program of the American elementary school.

Educational and Cultural Implications

From the findings in this study, it would appear that there are conflicts between a great number of Mexican-American boys and the American school, which keep this minority boy from achieving according to his ability. In order to truly teach such children in our public schools, it would seem a requisite that our educational staff understand these differences and conflicts, and subsequently modify the

present inadquate educational methods in order to make school more legitimate for these students. If the present educational staff is not able or willing to consider and understand these conflicts, and their consequences for such ethnically different pupils, then in-service training should be provided for the staff.

The evidence in this investigation points to approximately four major value conflicts between the Mexican-American boy and the American school:

1. Masculine Orientation. The first appears to support the views of Henry, Friedenberg, Goodman and Sexton about the "American School," as it is influenced by, and as it in turn influences the American culture, and the youngsters who grow up in it. In the comparisons of the three ethnic groups under observation one finds a demasculinization of of Anglo boys as a result of their home and school environments. On the other hand, some of the Mexican-American boys seem to have resisted the American school and culture by retaining a healthy, masculine, and certain identity, and by not allowing themselves to become "oversocialized" or assimilated. This extends to the values the boy has, the models he seeks to pattern himself after, his significant others, and those whom he seeks to avoid. These appear to clash with those desired by and inherent in the school culture and its staff.

2. Peer Group Identification and Preference. The Mexican-American boy learns his role in the socialization process in a different manner than the Anglo boy does, and which the school assumes for all its pupil clientele. He does not look to the female teacher nor to his mother, but to his peer group for learning of standards of behavior and social roles. To please the school, or to function in the present-day school, this boy would have to give up his peer group identification and his independence from his family in this regard. (And it is highly questionable if this requirement is psychologically healthy).

3. Lack of Driveness. It is suggested from these findings that the remarkably well-integrated concept the Mexican-American boy has of himself - with little conflict between his real and ideal self-image - works against him in relation to becoming a "socialized and achieving" pupil in the elementary classroom. He does not seem to fit the requirements of the school in this area, because he suffers from a lack of "driveness", and too little of the school-desired conflicts. He is too well-adjusted, as the clinician might say. Herein seems to lie one of his difficulties in the

school and with its teachers.[1]

4. Informal Classrooms. The highly informal, often ambivalent methods used in American classrooms are markedly confusing to the Mexican-American boy, and at odds with his needs for structured, formal, technical learning, which he does not get in the typical elementary school-class.[2]

The "package-processing" of the school does not fit this boy, and the rewards of the school are not appropriate for him. "Leadership," "competition," pitting one child against another (Henry, 1968), and even "reading" are not valued by these boys as they are by the teachers - yet it does not follow from this that this pupil is not "achievement-oriented." He just has to achieve in his own - even if differently conceived - way.

The burden of many criticisms of American society (including the educational system) has been that some of its value-systems restrict human potential. If an ethnic group, such as the Mexican-American group, then does not have the goodness of fit of its own value-orientations with that of the majority culture, deviation-strains will result, some of them serious, due to discrepant group memberships of the individuals. We do not have the right, however, to force an individual boy in the school to alienate himself from the role-expectations of the school system, or subsystem of which he is a member. If then, for such a pupil self-validation is different than it is for the typical Anglo

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[1]It should be noticed from the findings that the Anglo-American boy, on the other hand, a model student product of the American school and culture, has become so "oversocialized" that his identity not only has become ambivalent and uncertain, but he almost seems to have no identity at all. Instead, he has taken on the one the school and society want him to have.

The Mexican-American achieving boy (MAC) however, appears to have "achieved" a partial compromise of the two worlds and the two cultures by keeping intact some of his cultural values, and giving up others - in his effort to please all, and in his driveness to achieve everywhere.

[2]The most frequently heard complaints by pupils (and their parents) are that they don't understand what the teacher is saying, or what she wants them to do, and that even when they request this information, it is either misunderstood, inadequately given, or ignored altogether.

student because of his different perceptions, values, and responses -- he needs also different learnings. The Mexican-American boy's educational goals may be similar, but means to reach them are different. The school, then, must learn what these are, and modify its systems sufficiently to make room for the needs and values of the Mexican-American student as well.

Recommendations

From the findings in this study it is proposed that the American school reexamine and restyle its offerings to make them legitimate and valid for Mexican-American students (or for that matter, for all those students who are socially, or culturally different).

A. Teachers must be assisted to become aware and understand their own value-orientations, their own perceptions and misperceptions, and the effect that these have on their pupils and on their pupils' parents. Teachers and administrators must be trained differently, so that they do not fear those different from themselves, or label them inferior or disadvantaged, when they are frequently advantaged.

B. The school curriculum must be analyzed not only in its offerings, but in its definitions of "learning", "achievement", "reading", and how to measure and evaluate these. For the Mexican-American boy "reading" must be taught differently than it is in the regular typical elementary classroom. While the academic curriculum for this boy should be upgraded to fit his level of aspiration and self-image, the classroom environment for him cannot continue in its haphazard, informal confusion. He needs more formal, structured learning on one hand, yet without the burden of competition and the oppression of passivity and dependence on the teacher.

C. Teachers must be helped to understand and cope with the peer group values of ethnically-different boys. Before they can teach such pupils they must earn their respect by caring and coping with them. They must stop to reward all those who have become like them, and punish or ignore those who appear different.

Compensatory educational programs thus far have shown no reliable lasting effects, perhaps because they have not come to grips with the issue of value-conflicts and role-identifications. It would be foolish and destructive to overwhelm the Mexican-American boy with Anglo cultural values, and to make him over to fit the school's rigid stratum, when one has learned that it is this boy who has a strong, healthy identity, and a sense of self-worth and acceptance. If one strips this pupil of his culture, his values, one also strips him of this identity, and of his

personal and social well-being in the present and in the future. And no educator should be allowed to do this and go unpunished.

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